584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Ea'-tin'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Wobenuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not
586 essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within
837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse
[579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As
[181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts
[767] society as a handler and burier of the dead and singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "get mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate them." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1849] Chuckchansi

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

[262 They would first steal clothing and horses to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to
[262 steal horses from another but nearer locality. Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San
[484 Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

Such raids were made occasionally in the summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.